

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 9360

EXDIS

DEPT PASS LABOR FOR SECRETARY DUNLOP, SEGALL, PERSONS AND QUACKENBUSH
PASS COMMERCE FOR UPTON

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ILO PORG UN

SUBJECT: US POLICY TOWARD ILO

REF: A) GENEVA 5842; B) STATE 259502; C) GENEVA 8244; D) GENEVA 7947

1. SUMMARY. THIS MESSAGE IS OUR PRELIMINARY CONTRIBUTION TO THE INTER-AGENCY FOLLOWUP OF THE US NOTICE OF INTENT TO WITHDRAW FROM ILO (REF B). WE HOPE WASHINGTON AGENCIES WILL SEIZE WHAT APPEARS TO US TO BE OPPORTUNITY TO REFORM ILO AND USE IT AS VEHICLE TO SHOW THIRD WORLD WHAT DEVELOPMENT OF FREE PLURALISTIC DEMOCRACY CAN MEAN. WE ARE CONCERNED THAT DURING AND BEYOND TWO YEAR "TRIAL PERIOD" DEFINED BY US NOTICE THAT USG INTEREST IN ILO BE HIGH-LEVEL IN APPEARANCE AS WELL AS FACT AND WE HAVE SUGGESTED CABINET LEVEL REPRESENTATIONS TO UNDERLINE US INTEREST (PARA 5 BELOW) AND THAT NEW US GOALS AS DEFINED BY CABINET LEVEL COMMITTEE (CLC) BE PURSUED WITH UNPRECEDENTED VIGOR. WE EXPECT THAT BREADTH AND LENGTH OF US OBJECTIVE IN ILO-THE "SHOPPING LIST" TO BE PRODUCED BY CLC--WILL WHOW THAT US ENGAGED IN CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORT TO REFORM ILO AND NOT BLACKMAIL OPERATION OR MISCONCEIVED CRUSADE; AND WE BELIEVE BOTH EUROPEAN CYNICS AND MANY LDCS CAN BE PERSUADED TO SUPPORT OUR INITIATIVES. OUR RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE "SHOPPING LIST" ARE IN PARA 4 BELOW; WE ARE ESPECIALLY CONCERNED THAT CLC AND
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WASHINGTON AGENCIES FOCUS ON NEED TO TAILOR IMPORTANT PART OF

OUR NEW POLICY TO NEEDS OF THIRD WORLD AND WE HAVE SUGGESTED TWO PROGRAMS TO MEET THIS NEED (PARA 4E AND F BELOW). WE HOPE WASHINGTON IS AWARE OF IMMENSE AMOUNT OF COORDINATION AND PERSUASION NECESSARY TO CARRY THROUGH SUCCESSFULLY A NEW, IMAGINATIVE, AND POSITIVE ILO POLICY . END SUMMARY.

2. WHAT US WANTS IN ILO--OUR LETTER OF INTENT ASKS BOTH MEMBER COUNTRIES AND ILO SECRETARIAT TO ASSIST US IN REVERSING FOUR TRENDS AND TO REAFFIRM THEIR COMMITMENT TO TRADITIONAL ILO PRINCIPLES AND MISSION (REF B). IN NEAR FUTURE WE ALSO SHOULD SEEK COOPERATION AND SUPPORT FOR IMPROVING ILO PROGRAMS ESPECIALLY IN LDCS. POSITIVE PROPOSALS AND AN ACTIVE ROLE BY USG IN ILO WILL HELP TO PROMOTE PEACEFUL, DEMOCRATIC EVOLUTION (A MAJOR US FOREIGN POLICY GOAL) BECAUSE THE ILO REACHES THE POLITICALLY IMPORTANT CONSTITUENCIES OF LABOR AND MANAGEMENT AS WELL AS GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRATS AND PLANNERS. AN ACTIVE POLICY IN ILO WILL ALSO GIVE US GREATER PERSUASIVENESS WITH LDCS ON BILATERAL ISSUES, AND ON THEIR POSITIONS IN ILO AND PERHAPS IN OTHER UN FORA AS WELL. POSITIVE US POLICY IN ILO ALSO WILL ENABLE LABOR ATTACHES WORLDWIDE TO PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ROLE THAN IN RECENT PAST IN PROMOTING US INTERESTS IN ILO AND PERIPHERAL AREAS.

3. REACTIONS TO US NOTICE--GOVERNMENTS UNDERSTANDABLY MUST WEIGH THEIR NATIONAL INTEREST AGAINST THE SPECIFIC US PROPOSALS WHICH ARE EXPECTED TO EMANATE FROM THE HIGH LEVEL CABINET COMMITTEE. SO FAR THEY HAVE ONLY THE GENERAL ARGUMENTS IN THE US LETTER OF INTENT, WHICH ARE INSUFFICIENT FOR THEM TO JUDGE THE CRUCIAL FACTOR OF HOW SERIOUS AND DETERMINED THE US IS ABOUT REFORMING THE ILO. THE REACTION UP TO NOW HAS BEEN A NON-HOSTILE "WAIT AND SEE" ATTITUDE, IN SOME INSTANCES SEASONED BY SKEPTICISM THAT THE TRENDS CITED IN US LETTER CAN BE EFFECTIVELY REVERSED THE THE PROSPECT OF OR BY ACTUAL WITHDRAWAL BY US FROM ILO. THE STATED US DESIRE NOT TO LEAVE ILO HAS ALSO LED SOME GOVERNMENTS TO CONSIDER US NOTICE AS A "STRATAGEM" TO BE COUNTERED BY LOW LEVEL BARGAINING. PAYMENT BY US OF FIRST HALF OF CY 1975 ASSESSMENT AND APPARENT WILLINGNESS TO PAY REMAINDER OF ITS ASSESSMENT IN NEXT TWO YEARS MAY ALSO BE INTERPRETED IN WAYS NOT ADVANTAGEOUS TO US. AMONG LDCS, FOR INSTANCE, MUTED RESPONSE TO US NOTICE SEEMS CONFIDENTIAL

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TO REFLECT MICAWBERISM THAT "SOMETHING WILL TURN UP" TO REPLACE US MONEY AND IN SOME CASES THE HOPE THAT US HAS NO REAL INTENTION TO GET OUT OF ILO. INDUSTRIALIZED MEMBERS ARE MORE CYNICAL: SOME OF THEM ARE ASKING WHAT KIND OF COSMETIC SCENARIO IS NECESSARY IN ORDER TO KEEP US AND ITS MONEY IN ILO.

4. NEED FOR US TO CLARIFY ITS POSITION--BEST WAY FOR US TO CONVINCE ILO MEMBERS THAT WE ARE NOT ENGAGED IN

A "STRATAGEM" AND ARE SERIOUS ABOUT REFORMING ILO IS FOR US TO ARTICULATE ITS SHOPPING LIST AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. NUMBER AND CONTENTS OF A AAPUS PROPOSALS WILL SHOW WE REGARD ILO SERIOUSLY, AND WILL SERVE TO KEEP INITIATIVE AND DIRECTION OF CHANGE IN ILO IN US HANDS. HOPEFULLY WE WILL INCLUDE PROPOSALS WHICH WILL ENABLE US TO GATHER THIRD WORLD SUPPORT FOR OVERALL US POWQXDVN ILO AND FOR ITS BASIC PRINCIPLES. WE SUGGEST WASHINGTON AGENCIES CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING WHEN PROPOSING US "SHOPPING LIST" TO CABINET LEVEL COMMITTEE (CLC).

(A) ILO ELECTIONS--(IN JUNE FOR PRESIDENT OF GOVERNING BODY, CHAIRMAN OF ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON WORLD EMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE, PRESIDENT OF COMMITTEE OF WHILE OF WEC; AND CHAIRMAN OF ILO MARITIME CONFERENCE IN NOVEMBER). AT MINIMUM USG SHOULD POINT OUT TO ILO MEMBERS, MANY OF WHOM HAVE TOTALLY UNREALISTIC UNDERSTANDING OF US DOMESTIC POLITICS, PROBABLE ADVERSE IMPACT OF US WORKER AND EMPLOYER ORGANIZATIONS OF ELECTION OF SOVIET OR EASTERN EUROPEAN TO THESE OFFICES. HOPEFULLY USG WILL GO FURTHER AND UNDERLINE CONCERN STATED IN US LETTER OF INTENT BY POINTING OUT TO THIRD WORLD THAT US CANNOT ALLOW GEOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS TO PERMIT SYMBOLIC AFFRONT TO TRIPARTITISM IN ILO. MOREOVER, US WILL LOOK FOOLISH AND LOSE CREDIBILITY IF, IN OUR LETTER OF INTENT WE WRING OUR HANDS OVER THE EROSION OF TRIPARTISIM IN THE ILO AND THEN PASSIVELY AGREE TO THE ELCTION OF THE ENEMIES OF TRIPARTITISM TO HIGH AND INFLUENTIAL ILO POSITIONS.

(B) US PROPOSAL ON RESOLUTIONS IN WORKING PARTY ON STRUCTURE--US PROPOSAL REFERS TO PROCEDURE ON RESOLUTIONS WHICH CONDEMN MEMBER COUNTRIES OF ILO AND IS SIGNIFICANT BECAUSE (1) IT IS CLEAR EXAMPLE OF WHAT US LETTER OF INTENT MEANS BY "DUE PROCESS" AND (2) IT REFLECTS US CONCERN WITH RESOLUTIONS OF CONDEMNATION IN OTHER UN FORA. WE HOPE WASHINGTON WILL FORMULATE FINAL LANGUAGE FOR THIS RESOLUTION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

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(C) CONGRESSIONAL CONSULTATION--WE ASSUME THAT CONGRESSIONAL PARTICIPATION IN FORMULATION OF NEW ILO POLICY IN WASHINGTON WILL BE VISIBLE. IT WOULD BE PARTICULARLY HELPFUL IN GENEVA IF APPROPRIATE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS COULD ATTEND GOVERNING BODY SESSION AS WELL AS THE ANNUAL JUNE CONFERENCE.

(D) RATIFICATION OF ILO CONVENTIONS--THE US COULD RATIFY ILO CONVENTIONS ON FORCED LABOR (29), DISCRIMINATION (111), AND PERHAPS SEVERAL OTHERS WITHOUT FEAR OF BEING CITED FOR NON-COMPLIANCE (REF C). RATIFICATION WOULD BE SEEN AS EARNEST OF US COMMITMENT TO INTERNATIONAL

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 9360

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STANDARDS SET BY ILO AND WOULD BE VERY EFFECTIVE IN US CAMPAIGN AGAINST "DOUBLE STANDARD" IN ILO. MISSION BELIEVES CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN RATIFICATION SHOULD SURFACE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. ASSUMING SUFFICIENT PROGRESS IS MADE IN MEETIN US OBJECTIVES, INTRODUCTION OF RATIFYING LEGISLATION INTO CONGRESS COULD OCCUR JUST BEFORE THE JUNE CONFERENCE.

(E) WORLD EMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE (WEC) -- SCHEDULED TO RUN CUNCURRENTLY WITH ANNUAL CONFERENCE IN JUNE. PLANS OF ILO SECRETARIAT FOR WEC HAVE BEEN SEVERELY CRITICIZED THIS YEAR AS POORLY CONCEIVED AND OVERLY THEORETICAL BY EMPLOYER, WORKER AND GOVERNMENT MEMBERS OF ILO GOVERNING BODY. MISSION DOUBTS WHETHER SECRETARIAT BY ITSELF WILL SIGNFICANTLY IMPROVE ON ITS PAST EFFORTS AND WE FEEL CHANCES ARE GOOD THAT WEC WILL BE DISADTER. USG COULD SIMPLY SIT BY AND LET THIS HAPPEN. HOWEVER, USG CAN IF IT WISHES, DRAFT SERIES OF ACTION PROGRAMS THAT COULD BE INTRODUCED IN CONNECTION WITH AGENDA ITEMS OF WEC; IF USG DOES SO, AT LEAST ONE OF OUR PROPOSALS COULD FOCUS ON ROLE OF WORKER AND EMPLOYER ORGANIZATIONS IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT, AN AREA OF INTEREST TO LDCS, THIS TYPE OF APPROACH TO WEC IS DESIGNED TO CONTRAST US COMMITMENT TO PRACTICAL PROGRAMS EMPHASIZING TRIPARTITISM WITH (1) INEVITABLE EMOTIVE RHETORIC AT WEC OF SOME LDCS AND EE BLOC AND (2) WITH FUZZY THEORETICAL APPROACH OF ILO SECRETARIAT. THEREFORE, MISSION URGES CREATION OF TASK FORCE (STAFFED BY MEMBERS IN STATE, AID, LABOR AND OTHER AGENCIES FAMILIAR WITH LDC PROBLEMS) TO EXPLORE POSSIBILITIES

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OF THIS APPROACH.

(F) SKILLED MANPOWER POOL -- PRIME MINISTER OF SRI LANKA RAISED THIS IDEA AT 8TH ILO ASIAN REGIONAL CONFERENCE IN OCTOBER. DETAILS ARE NOT CLEAR BUT PRESUMABLY POOL WOULD FACILITATE EMPLOYMENT OF SURPLUS SKILLED PERSONNEL (FROM COUNTRIES LIKE SRI LANKA, INDIA AND PAKISTAN) IN OIL RICH AND OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN INDIAN OCEAN BASIN. IF POOL CONCEPT IS AT ALL PRACTICAL, IT MIGHT BE WORTH LOW-KEY US SUPPORT, BECAUSE IT WOULD ILLUSTRATE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-HELP AMONG LDCS, PERHAPS GET US SOME INDEPTEDNESS FROM THE SENDING COUNTRIES AND UNDERLINE, ESPECIALLY FOR LDCS, THE STERILITY OF AMIN-STYLE RACISM.

5. NEED FOR CONSULTATION -- US SHORTLY WILL HAVE TO CONSULT WITH ILO MEMBERS, INCLUDING WORKER AND EMPLOYER MEMBERS OF GOVERNING BODY, IN ORDER TO SEEK SUPPORT FOR OUR "SHOPPING LIST". SOME COMPROMISE AND MODIFICATION OF OUR LIST IS INEVITABLE BUT AT THIS STAGE IT IS POSSIBLE THAT SOME OF "OUR ALLIES" MIGHT BE TEMPTED TO USE CONSULTATIONS TO STIFLE OR TO DIVERT US INITIATIVES. BECAUSE INTERESTS AND DEGREE OF SUPPORT FOR US BY ILO MEMBER COUNTRIES VARIES, MISSION BELIEVES EFFECTIVE CONSULTATIONS WILL BE BILATERAL AND TAILORED TO INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES; NOT ALL ITEMS ON US "SHOPPING LIST" SHOULD BE PUT TO EVERY ILO MEMBER. MISSION REITERATES THAT KEY LDCS SHOULD BE CONSULTED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. WASHINGTON MIGHT CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING:

(A) MISSION TO KEEP ILO DIRECTOR GENERAL, OFFICERS OF GOVERNING BODY, AND SELECTED GENEVA REPS INFORMED OF ITEMS ON CABINET LEVEL AGENDA, WITH DEEPER BRIEFINGS FOR FRG, JAPANESE AND SCANDINAVIANS, WHOSE POSITION IN ILO SO FAR HAS BEEN SYMPATHETIC TO US.

(B) APPOINTMENT OF SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE -- TO APPROACH KEY COUNTRIES IN JANUARY, REITERATE POINTS IN US LETTER OF INTENT, AND TO INDICATE WHICH ITEMS US IS ACTIVELY CONSIDERING (FOR EXAMPLE, THOSE IN PARA 4 ABOVE) AND TO CONVEY MESSAGE THAT US SHOPPING LIST WILL GROW. DEGREE OF DETAIL IN THIS PRESENTATION WOULD DEPEND ON WHETHER CLC HAD ALREADY APPROVED ITEM. HOWEVER, THRUST OF THIS SPECIAL REPRESENTATION WOULD BE TO UNDERLINE HIGH LEVEL US INTEREST IN ILO TO CABINET LEVEL DECISION-MAKERS IN SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES, FRG, JAPAN, AUSTRALIA, CANADA, UK, FRANCE AND

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ITALY; AND IN KEY LDCS: BRAZIL, VENEZUELA, INDONESIA, NIGERIA, SIERRA LEONE, ZAIRE, INDIA, EGYPT, IRAN, SRI LANKA, AND MEXICO.

(C) SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE COULD ALSO CONVEY TO
SELECTED ILO MEMBERS US APPROVAL IN PRINCIPLE OF DIRECTOR
GENERAL'S PROPOSAL FOR CONSULTATIONS (PARA 5 REF D). MISSION
BELIEVES (1) SECRETARY DUNLOP SHOULD REPRESENT US
ACCOMPANIED BY SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE; (2) THAT MEETING
COULD TAKE PLACE DURING OR AFTER OECD LABOR MINISTERS'
MEETING; AND (3) IN LATTER CASE THAT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD BE LABOR
MINISTERS'
MEETING; AND (3) IN LATTER CASE THAT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD BE LABOR
MINISTERS
OF AUSTRALIA, CANADA, FRG, FRANCE, ITALY, JAPAN, NORWAY,
SWEDEN AND UK. MISSION DOES NOT RECOMMEND RESTRICTION OF
PARTICIPANTS TO POINT WHERE UK, FRANCE AND ITALY (WHO ARE
AT PRESENT RELUCTANT SUPPORTERS OF US IN ILO) MIGHT DOMINATE
CONVERSATION.

(D) ONGOING BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS -- WHENEVER
CLC APPROVES ITEMS, LABOR ATTACHES WOULD MAKE APPROPRIATE
BILATERAL APPROACHES. BY MID-MAY, US SHOULD HAVE GOOD
ESTIMATE OF LIKELY SUPPORT FOR US SHOPPING LIST AT JUNE ILO
CONFERENCE.

6. NEED OF USG FOR GREATER RESOURCES -- IN ATTEMPTING TO
REFORM ILO, USG IS UNDERTAKING MAJOR AND COMPLEX INTERNATIONAL
EFFORT INVOLVING NOT ONLY GOVERNMENTS BUT LABOR AND MANAGE-
MENT GROUPS AS WELL. IF US IS TO BE SUCCESSFUL, BILATERAL
CONSULTATIONS WILL BE NECESSARY WORLDWIDE AND IN GENEVA
WHERE THE REACTIONS OF THE ILO SECRETARIAT, GB MEMBERS AND
US OPPONENTS MUST BE ASSESSED. WE ANTICIPATE THAT CONSULTATIONS
IN GENEVA WILL BE ON A SCALE MUCH LARGER THAN EVER BEFORE.
WHAT BOGGLES US HOWEVER IS THE EFFORT THAT WILL BE NECESSARY IN
WASHINGTON (1) TO SELL THE ILO AS AN AREA OF OPPORTUNITY
FOR US TO COUNTRY DESK OFFICERS IN USG (2) TO GET CLEARANCES
NECESSARY FOR APPROVAL OF ITEMS ON OUR SHOPPING LIST BY CABINET
LEVEL COMMITTEE; AND (3) TO STAFF AD HOC GROUPS LIKE THE
TASK FORCE SUGGESTED IN PARA 4E ABOVE. WE ARE IN NO POSITION
TO MAKE SUGGESTIONS TO WASHINGTON ON STAFFING PATTERNS BUT
WE HOPE SUPPORT APPROPRIATE TO MAJOR US EFFORT IN ILO WILL
BE FORTHCOMING. DALE
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